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modern maiestas pontificia in the Sistine Chapel**

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Liturgical Space as a Social Product

Anthropological Aspects of the Early Modern

Maiestas Pontificia in the Sistine Chapel

TRISTAN WEDDIGEN

SOCIAL SPACE, SACRED AND PROFANE

Human societies organise themselves spatially and impose social structures and meanings upon their physical environment – in the words of Henri Lefèbvre (1905–91): “(social) space is a (social) product”¹. According to Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), societies are only possible if they are partitioned and structured into different and classified groups which communicate and interact with each other; organised societies thus manifest themselves spatially².

Conversely, structured environments express equivalent forms of society. In his study on the court society of the Ancien Régime, Norbert Elias (1897–1990) considered the structure of dwellings as indicators of social configurations, a view that is still valid for the socio-historical analysis of architecture and its decoration³. As Elias shows, different spatial situations provide information about the different social groups who create and inhabit the various spaces at court: members of the court, driven by an essential desire for prestige, aesthetically transform their architectural surroundings in accordance with their social standing⁴. Thus constructed and decorated or even just depicted spaces can be seen as signs or ‘symbolic forms’ that designate social relationships⁵. In the early modern period the correspondence between social structures and their aesthetic appearance is based above all on the social, rhetorical and art theoretical ideal of *decorum* or appropriateness, in other words on a socially accepted differentiation of ordered human interrelationships⁶.

Elias’ model of the Baroque court can indeed be used for the analysis of the role of the arts at the early modern papal court. In fact, the absolutist court modelled its ceremonial on that of the early modern Roman Curia, which – as the *monarchia Christi* – was renowned for its strict social structure and distinction. Jörg Jochen Berns argues that from the early Cinquecento the papacy, as the “energetic core of European ceremonial”, operated a kind of ‘ceremonial imperialism’ that had a decided influence on the efforts of secular courts to sacralise their own ceremonial⁷.

This contribution is drawn from my forthcoming book *Raphael’s Parrot Room – Ritual, Functions and Decorations at the Vatican Palace of the Renaissance*. The translation of the present text was provided by Fiona Healy.

1 Lefèbvre 1991, 26.

2 Durkheim 1968, 632: “Celle-ci [la société] n’est possible que si les individus et les choses qui la composent sont répartis entre différents groupes, c’est-à-dire classés les uns par rapport aux autres. La société suppose donc une organisation consciente de soi qui n’est autre chose qu’une classification. Cette organisation de la société se communique naturellement à l’espace qu’elle occupe.”

3 Elias 1983, 42–65. Cf. Paravicini 1997a, 14; Asch 1991. See also Daniel 2001, 254–69: on Elias’ role in cultural studies. Kempers 1994, 6–9: on the social history of art. Aulinger 1992: on the sociology of art. Cf. Schneider 1996.

4 Elias 1983, 43: “And so the precipitate of a social unit in terms of space and indeed, more narrowly, in terms of rooms, is a tangible and – in the literal sense – visible representation of its special nature. In this sense the kind of accommodation of court people gives sure and very graphic access to an understanding of certain social relationships characteristic of court society.”

5 Cf. Panofsky 1964: on perspective as a ‘symbolic form’. Bertelli, Cardini, and Zorzi 1986: on court culture. Signorotto and Visceglia 2002: overview of research on papal court culture.

6 Cf. Elias 1983, 57: e.g. the use of canonical column orders according to social standing. Cf. Rutherford and Mildner 1996–2001; Grassi and Pepe 1978, 1: 144–5: on *decorum*. Weddigen 2003: on functionalism.

7 Cf. Kerscher 2000, 182–3: on the use of courtly ceremonial at the Curia of Avignon. Kerscher 1995: on the sacralisation of court ceremonial. Berns 1995, 160: the growing interest in ceremonial in Rome at the beginning of the sixteenth century can be understood “zum einen als Anzeichen dafür, dass man das Zeremoniell gefährdet sah und dass man seine Uneinheitlichkeit bekämpfen wollte; zum anderen als Anzeichen dafür, dass man die Möglichkeit einer zentripetalen

RITVVM ECCLE
SIATICORVM SIVE SACRARVM
CERIMONiarVM .S.S. ROMA
NÆ ECCLESIAE LIBRI
TRES NON ANTE
IMPRESSI.
 †

Habes optime lector Rituum Ecclesiasticorum siue Sacrarum Cerimoniarum Sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ libros tres. Opus cum non ante formis excusum, Tum uero argumento suo & iucundum tibi, & utile. Nam quæ ratio creandi Pötificis, quæ Reliquorum Antistitum, qui modus admittendi Imperatoris cum urbem inuisit, quæ Diuorum nostrorum apotheoses, exin qui pietatis ordo, dum diuinis Pontifex operatur a Kal. Ianuarijs ad anni finem, postremo ueluti coronis, ac fastigium operis, summa quædam ad institutam rem pertinens explicatio personarum ac officiorum, Quæ operanti Pontifici adfunt, his libris continentur. Est & in fronte operis Reuerendissimi, & Doctissimi Corcyrensis Archiepiscopi Christophori Marcelli ad Sanctissimum, D.N. Leonem, X. Epistola cum indice.

Diris Pontificiis interdictum, ne non prædictum dicas manceps librerie, ne quis infra quinquennium præter nos excudat. Quare caueas, ne lucri cupiditas transuersum te actum, & grauiore pœna uiuentem afficiat: & mortuum barathro æternum addicat.

Abb. 1. Frontispice from: Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini. 1516. *Rituum ecclesiasticorum siue sacrarum ceremoniarum s. s. romane ecclesiae: Libri tres non ante impressi*. Venice. After: Piccolomini 1965.

Because of its staunch awareness of the traditions of the Catholic Church's institutions and the extraordinary stability of its rituals, the Vatican could rely on clearly defined and long-standing social structures and groupings, all of which found expression in a correspondingly traditional use of particular architectural spaces and forms of decoration. The dual function of the *pontifex maximus* as Monarch of the Church State *and* as the Vicar of Christ means his office combines both sacred *and* worldly powers⁸. As the office of the pope is expressed through clearly defined rituals in pre-determined locations, these same rituals are simultaneously both religious *and* profane in character. This leads to a corresponding connection between sacred and worldly spatial forms and so distinguish papal palaces from the residences of secular rulers.

WHAT IS CEREMONY?

Life at the papal court was defined and structured by binding and institutionalised rituals that were codified over the centuries. These rituals governed the areas of *liturgy* and *ceremonial*⁹, though the boundaries between the two remain more or less indistinguishable during the early modern period, as for instance is evident from the title of the most significant codification of papal ceremonies: *Rituum ecclesiasticorum siue sacrarum ceremoniarum s. s. romane ecclesiae libri tres* (Abb. 1)¹⁰. This text describes the rules for both liturgy and court ceremonial and was written by Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini (1430/40–94) around 1488, but published only in 1516 by Cristoforo Marcello (sixteenth century), who however failed to

Vereinheitlichung des Zeremoniells historisch erstmals für gegeben erachtete und erstmals die Chance eines Rom-zentrierten *Zeremoniellimperialismus* sah." Berns and Rahn 1995a, 652: "Denn die Römische Kurie ist das energetische Zentrum des europäischen Zeremoniells. Vom Papsthof breitet sich das Amt [of the master of ceremonies] im Laufe des 16. Jahrhunderts auf fast alle europäischen Höfe aus." Klapisch-Zuber 1985, 138: "ces interférences entre rituels liturgiques et rituels royaux révèlent la place capitale qu'occupe le sacré dans l'essence et la manifestation du pouvoir politique." Da Castiglionchio 1999, 102: *Christi monarchia*. Chatenet 2002, 79–80: *corte romana* known for its *cerimonia e distinzione*, and the French court for its *disordine e confusione*.

8 Cf. Prodi 1982; Muir 1997, 260; Fernández 1999, 141–2.

9 Burke 1987, 168–82; Stinger 1998, 46–59. Adamson 1999a: on court culture and ceremonial. Schimmelpfennig 1999; Fernández 1999; Kerscher 2000, 28–30: on papal ceremonial and liturgy.

10 Piccolomini 1965, title page.

acknowledge Piccolomini's authorship. So despite the growing polarisation of secular and worldly matters in early modern society, no clear differentiation of the historical terms *ritus* and *caeremonia* was undertaken until the sixteenth century¹¹. Around 1517, Paride de Grassi (ca. 1460–1528), Piccolomini's successor as Master of Ceremonies, answered the rhetorical question of the meaning of 'ceremony' – *quid sit caeremonia* – as follows: "Ceremony is the art of implementing appropriately the cult of the sacred, and it is performed either by man for God or because of God for man"¹².

Whereas for Piccolomini liturgical *ritus* and *caeremonia*, irrespective of whether sacred or courtly, meant one and the same thing, de Grassi, some thirty years later, considered the generic term *caeremonia* to have a purely religious significance. Therefore, he based his – never published – *Book of Ceremonies* on the paradigmatic papal liturgy in the Sistine Chapel. Though artificial, distinguishing the *rites* of the *liturgy* from the *rituals* of the *court ceremonial* has the decided advantage of allowing papal representation to be divided into its separate components of the *religious-liturgical* and the *secular-ceremonial*. Only in this way does it become possible to speak, for instance, of political iconography in sacred space. As the anthropologist Ronald L. Grimes so succinctly put it: "A liturgy or *the* liturgy is not purely liturgical"¹³.

ON THE ORIGINS OF RITES BY MEANS OF SUPERNATURAL SELECTION

What meaning did the papal Masters of Ceremonies around 1500 attach to *caeremonia*? Piccolomini is the first to provide a quasi 'anthropological' definition of the term. He recognises that the regulations and the implementation of ritual in liturgy and ceremonial bestow authority and spirituality on the deity, the ruler and the elite. In order to win God's mercy, he postulates the need for pure, chaste and appropriate ceremonies. It is only fitting for both the apostolic majesty (*maiestas*) and the authority and dignity of the holy Senate that everything is carried out in proper order and with the pertinent rites. In this way, each receives the fitting degree of honour and reverence¹⁴. Thus the form of such rites is constituted by their appropriateness, and their content serves to create hierarchies of power.

Cristoforo Marcello also provided a religious anthropology of sorts in his dedication to Pope Leo X de' Medici (1475–1521) of Piccolomini's appropriated *Book of Ceremonies*. It is generally known, he states, that the ancient structure of the holy ceremonies originated and evolved together with religion. However, without appropriate and enhancing ceremonies religion appears barbaric, formless and without any beauty whatsoever. Recognition gives pleasure to princes and munificence pleases. But, he continues, homage is considerably more satisfying when it is accompanied by gestures of honour, eloquent speech and eulogies. The most powerful and benevolent King sits on an elevated throne, surrounded by

11 Glei et al. 1971–95: *liturgy* a late term, *ordo* and *ritus* earlier. Möseneder 1983, 70–1: definition of *ceremonial* in the Baroque. Carlen 1993, 6: at the Curia, liturgy and ceremonial were difficult to separate. Blanco 1995, 47–8: states that, from the beginning, ceremonial was profane as well as sacred.

12 De Grassi 1514–25, fol. 1r–3r: *Quid sit caerimonia, et unde dicatur*; fol. 1r: [gloss: *Caerimonia quid sit*] *Hinc et beatus Thomas, caerimoniae, inquit, opera sunt exteriora ad cultum Dei pertinentia. Igitur caerimonia est sacri cultus benegerendi scientia, quae vel Deo ab homine, vel propter Deum quandoque homini exhibetur, ex quo illud exodi ad Moysen. Cf. Dykmans 1986, 287; Cornides 1967, 9. Cf. Firmani [16th c.], fol. 63v, cit. Fosi 1997, 89: *Cirimonia nihil aliud est quam honor debitus Deo aut hominibus propter Deum*; from Piccolomini, cit. Dykmans 1980–82, 1:31*. Cf. Kempers 2003.*

13 Grimes 1995, 51: "liturgies [...] contain motifs that are ceremonious, magical, and decorous. A liturgy or *the* liturgy is not purely liturgical."

14 Piccolomini 1965, unpag. dedication: *Cogitavit sane circumspectissima beatitudo tua [pope Innocent VIII], & recte quidem, plurimum ad divinam clementiam nobis propitiandam pertinere, si puris, castis, congruisque caeremoniis illa colatur, nec minus spectare ad maiestatem apostolicam, sacrique senatus auctoritatem venerationemque praeservandam atque augendam, si suo ordine, rituque decenti omnia peragantur; si rerum, temporum, personarum ratio habeatur; si cuique reddantur debitus honor, & propria reverentia, quae quidem omnia hac una disciplina continentur, suggerentur, administranturque. Cf. Dykmans 1980–82, 1: 27*.*



Abb. 2. *Papal Mass and Pizza*, Holy Year, photograph, Rome, Swiss Institute. Photograph: author.

divine spirits, who approach him successively according to their status. This pious *Book of Ceremonies* contains the divine spirit, the chaste prayer, the image of the heavenly abode, the holiest rites and the prefiguration of secret mysteries¹⁵.

To explain the liturgical forms of homage, Marcello takes as his model the secular definition of the relationship between the ruler and his subjects¹⁶. It is therefore hardly surprising that, conversely, liturgy can be imbued with political values. Norms of behaviour that are politically effective and ensure social discipline – recognition of a higher power, physical force and the omniscience of the ruler as well as the maintenance of hierarchies, consensus and unity – are expressed through the rites and rituals, are thus displayed and exercised, and in the end sanctified and imbued with an aura that makes them unalterable. Catherine Bell sees the socially disciplining function of rites and rituals as being above all applicable to societies that place great importance on social unity and on restrictive verbal and symbolic communication, that show a preference for the hierarchical rather than the individual and require a strong socially binding consensus – much like male clerical groups within the Catholic Church¹⁷.

The political function of the *caeremonia* is confirmed *ex negativo* by de Grassi's protest against Marcello's piracy and unauthorised publication of Piccolomini's *Caeremoniale*. De Grassi considers the betrayal of the ceremonial's secret protocols and rules to the laity as tantamount to a debasement and vulgarisation of the mystery of the rites, thereby not only jeopardising the effectiveness and integrity of the *caeremonia*, but also calling into question the authority and veneration of the pope himself. A

15 Piccolomini 1965, unpag. dedication by Marcello to Leo X: *Vetustissimam sacrarum cerimoniarum observationem beatissimus pater; & una cum ipsa religione ortam esse conspicuum est. Velut enim haec mortalibus semper optima, ac summopere necessaria extitit, ut pote: qua deos immortales suspicerent, admirarentur; & colerent, ita sine debito cerimoniarum ornatu inculta est, informis, ac omni pulchritudine vacua. Placet recognitio principi. Benevolentia placet. At multo magis gratum obsequium, si & gestuum veneratione, & compositione verborum, & munerum blandimentis afficiatur. Sedet in sublimi solio rex omnium optimus, circumstant divinae mentes, quae certatim se illi gratas reddunt, diversis agitationibus coeli moventur. Cf. da Castiglionchio 1999, 129: "worship and veneration are usually pleasing, whoever carries them out. This is also most wisely established by our divine laws: that every sacrifice, even if it is made by the most corrupt of priests, provided that the ritual is done correctly [*modo rite factum*], is a sacrifice that is true, integral, absolute, intact, and inviolate and is to be deemed as accepted in the eyes of God."*

16 Cf. Vec 1998, 333: on *Psalm* 82, where rulers are called *gods*, used as a justification for princely splendour in the eighteenth century. Cf. Bölling 2004, 154: according to Piccolomini the difference of rank between a cardinal bishop and cardinal deacon is to be compared with the difference between father and son.

17 Bell 1992, 178–9. Cf. Boyer 2001, 255: "Rituals do not *create* social effects but only the illusion that they do".

comparable de-mystification of the divine and a reduction in the power of religion occurs through the technical reproducibility of ritual (Abb. 2). When physical presence in a particular location is no longer essential to participation in a collective rite, then the binding force and socially disciplining power of that rite are diminished¹⁸.

For Marcello, the ceremonial and liturgical presentation of the worldly church reflects that of the Kingdom of Heaven. He believes the aesthetic plays an integral part in transmitting the church's religious and political values and is thus politically indispensable. If the use of magnificence, pomp, splendour and beauty is adequate when worshipping God like a worldly ruler, then it is just as appropriate for venerating the pope like a divine monarch.

RITUAL BONDS AND BODIES

How does religion unfold in space? Being a communicative and social event, rites occupy space¹⁹. According to Jean Cazeneuve, rites acquire real or imagined functionality²⁰. A stable, repetitive rite can thus establish itself in a spatial or architectural form and transform that space into a container, frame or stage for ritual functions²¹. One of the primary types of ritual activity to assume a spatial form is that of separation. Common to all religions – so Durkheim's commonplace – is the ability to radically divide the world into profane and sacred areas, something that is also suggested by the etymology of *sanctus* and *profanum*²². The result is a complementary definition of the *sacred* as that which is inaccessible to all that is worldly and the *profane* as that which is excluded from the consecrated area – as Durkheim put it: sacred things are those which interdicts protect and isolate; profane things are those to which these prohibitions apply and which have to be kept at a distance from the former²³.

It is this ritual delineation of boundaries that characterises the profane and the sacred. Crossing a holy border, that is from a profane to a sacred area or situation, and vice versa, is accompanied, so Arnold van Gennep (1873–1957), by specific *rites de passage* – an example is the opening of the *porta sancta* at the beginning of a Holy Year²⁴. Institutionalised rites of passage can assume material form and thus become *passages matériels*, for example thresholds or barriers, platforms or textiles. Material rites of passage can however also involve physical changes to a person, such as the obligatory shaving and tonsure, or the papal paraliturgical donning of vestments prior to the celebration of mass²⁵.

18 Dykmans 1980–82, 1: 40*–1*. Cf. Catalano 1750–51, 1: XIII–XVII. Cf. Cornides 1967, 16. Cf. Muir 1997, 269–75: on desacralisation and the end of ritual.

19 Gehlen 1988–98, 389–91: on space, society, and religion. Grimes 1995, 26–7: on the space of ritual.

20 Cazeneuve 1996, 17. Bell 1997, 46–52: “magic, religion, and science”, on the difference between practical activities and seemingly non-functional rituals.

21 Cf. Gehlen 1988–98, 391–6.

22 Durkheim 1968, 50: “Toutes les croyances religieuses connues, qu’elles soient simples ou complexes, présentent un même caractère commun: elle supposent une classification des choses, réelles ou idéales, que se représentent les hommes, en deux classes, en deux genres opposés, désignés généralement par deux termes distincts que traduisent assez bien les mots de *profane* et de *sacré*”; cf. 454–5: on the difference between *profane* and *sacred*. Cf. Bell 1997, 24–6: on Émile Durkheim. Cf. Widengren 1969, 20–45; Glei et al. 1971–95; Casajus and Dumas 1999.

23 Durkheim 1968, 56: “Mais ce qui est caractéristique du phénomène religieux, c’est qu’il suppose toujours une division bipartite de l’univers connu et connaissable en deux genres qui comprennent tout ce qui existe. Les choses sacrées sont celles que les interdits protègent et isolent; les choses profanes, celles auxquelles ces interdits s’appliquent et qui doivent rester à distance des premières. Les croyances religieuses sont des représentations qui expriment la nature des choses sacrées et les rapports qu’elles soutiennent soit les unes avec les autres, soit avec les choses profanes. Enfin, les rites sont des règles de conduite qui prescrivent comment l’homme doit se comporter avec les choses sacrées.” Cf. Bell 1992, 101–4: “ritual oppositions and hierarchies”; criticises Durkheim’s conceptual dichotomy. Cf. Bauer and Rahn 1997.

24 Van Gennep 1960, 1: “So great is the incompatibility between the profane and the sacred worlds that a man cannot pass from one to the other without going through an intermediate stage.” Cf. Sindzingre 1999. Cf. Grimes 1995, 72: “The ways we cross boundaries of founded places say who we are.” Bell 1997, 36–8: on Arnold van Gennep; 94–102: on rites of passage. Stinger 1998, 45: *porta sancta*. Bynum 1996, 30: on liminality in the case of breaking with norms and rules.

25 Van Gennep 1960, 18: “this symbolic and spatial area of transition may be found in more or less pronounced form in all the ceremonies which accompany the passage from one social and magico-religious position to another”; cf. 192: “it seems important to me that the passage from one social position to another is identified with a *territorial passage*, such as the entrance into a village or a house, the movement from one room to another, or the crossing of streets and squares”.

The form of sacred space corresponds to the internal subdivision and hierarchy of the sacred group. The liturgy of the mass is an exchange, one that involves the humanising glorification of God on one hand and the sanctification of man on the other²⁶. Religion bestows 'exclusive' sanctity – in the true sense of the word – on the clerical community by binding its members to the heavenly and divine Father while using an esoteric practice to elevate them above the lay state of the sons and daughters²⁷.

Recurring rites and ceremonies give a community its identity, both internally and externally, by helping it to practice and memorise social structures²⁸. Rites create on the one hand an integrating collective awareness and sense of unity among the clergy, while the liturgy on the other expresses, actualises and strengthens the internal classification and hierarchy of its members according to the status of their offices²⁹. Internal differentiation or exclusion is expressed for example by a member's place in a procession, the seating order in the choir or the material value of vestments.

The controlled interplay of forms of inclusion and exclusion allows for a spatial and decorative counter-image of the clerical social body as the organically functioning mystical body of Christ that is shrouded in an anthropomorphic sacred space and focused on the bodily incarnation of the Lord in the Eucharist³⁰. The use of allegory and typology for the liturgy and for the physical structure of the church and its offices, as found, for example, in the twelfth-century *Mitræ* by Sicardus and in Durandus' *Rationale* of the following century, allows the social body to present itself as the worldly spatial counter-image of the hierarchically structured, harmonious and heavenly Ecclesia³¹.

This projection of the ideal image of the community occurs as part of the liturgical ceremony that veils reality and suggests a degree of certainty or social commitment that tends to be independent of its worldly surroundings³². Rites serve to shape an image of the world by simplifying, framing, systemati-

Möseneder 1983, 67–9: on the representation of state order and of social differences by the means of courtly dress codes. Schütze 1997: on the ritual meaning of architectural borders. The donning of the vestments, the so-called *praeparatio ad missam pontificalem* is treated more extensively in my forthcoming *Raphael's Parrot Room*.

26 Cf. 3 Moses 20.7–8: *sanctificamini et estote sancti quia ego dominus deus vester | custodite praecepta mea et facite ea ego dominus qui sanctifico vos*. Martimort 1963, 1: 201: "Die Doppelbewegung der Liturgie: Verherrlichung Gottes und Heiligung des Menschen."

27 Durkheim 1968, 65: "Une religion est un système solidaire de croyances et de pratiques relatives à des choses sacrées, c'est-à-dire séparées, interdites, croyances et pratiques qui unissent en une même communauté morale, appelée Église, tous ceux qui y adhèrent". Bell 1997, 136: "It appears that ritual is used in those situations in which certain values and ideas are more powerfully binding on people if they are deemed to derive from sources of power outside the immediate community."

28 Cf. Burkert 1972, 33–4. Cf. Gebauer and Wulf 1998, 97: "Über die Mimesis institutioneller Gesten werden die Machtansprüche von Institutionen wahrgenommen und aufrechterhalten."

29 Muir 1997, 4: on ritual as social binding and solidarity beyond consensus. Kertzer 1988, 10: on actualisation and identification.

30 Durandus 1995–2000, 1: 17: on the comparison between church buildings and the human body. Cf. e.g. Pastor 1891–1933, 3.2: 849–50: at the first meeting of the Lateran Council on 10 May 1512, the Church is being called an organic machine, which schismatics are to be excluded from. Ullmann 1960, 3–6: on the uniform body of the Church. Bagliani 1994, 87–9: on cardinals as part of the papal body; 93–4: on the pope as the head of the Church's body. Muir 1997, 232: reference to the *Epistle to the Romans* 12.4–5, *sicut enim in uno corpore multa membra habemus omnia autem membra non eundem actum habent; ita multi unum corpus sumus in Christo singuli autem alter alterius membra*. Kerscher 2000, 319: in the *Leges palatinae*, the human body and its organs are used as an example for the hierarchy of offices. Frings 1998, 347–9: on anthropomorphism as a model for the Church and the state and for their buildings. Koschorke 2002, 78: "In der Tradition des abendländischen Staatsdenkens hat besonders das Bild des sozialen Körpers diese Funktion der imaginären Ganzheitsstiftung mitsamt der dazu komplementären Ausgrenzungen versehen".

31 Cf. e.g. Pastor 1891–1933, 3.2: 850: at the Lateran Council 1512, Rome and the Church is mentioned as the body and image of the heavenly Church. Möseneder 1983, 72: "So wie die Staatsordnung und die kosmische Ordnung, so ahmt das Zeremoniell die staatliche Ordnung nach und verweist wieder auf die vorbildhafte Ordnung zurück. Zeremoniell ist also darstellende Aktualisierung des staatlichen Gemeinschaftslebens in vollem Umfang." D'Amico 1983, 219: the papal confessor Pietro Colonna Galatino, in his manuscript *Libellus de re publica christiana pro vera eiusdem rei publicae reformatione* of about 1521 dedicated to Leo X und Hadrian VI: "it organizes reform around the concept of the Church as the mystical body of Christ"; every member and garment is part of Christian society; weakness causes discord amongst Christians and strengthens the infidel. Spiess 1997: on seating order as an image of social order. Vec 1998, 157–62: on the unity of cosmic and political order in the eighteenth century. Stinger 1998, 46: in the sermons of the Sistine Chapel, the Curia is said to be an image of the heavenly hierarchy. Cf. Schimmelpfennig 1992.

32 Bell 1997, 24: on ritual as a sacralising self-projection of society; 66: on rituals and religious symbols as idealising images which, in the ritual, fuse with reality.

sing and stylising complex and changeable reality, by reducing it to a miniaturised model of the world and society – an ideal model which can be applied to as many different situations as possible, as Catherine Bell has shown in relation to non-European rituals³³.

PAPAL MAJESTY EMBODIED

An engraving by Étienne Dupérac (ca. 1525–1604) is an excellent document for the liturgical uses of architecture and decoration to spatially distinguish social groups (Taf. 38). Published in 1578 as part of Antoine Lafréy's (1512–77) *Speculum romanae magnificentiae*, this famous sheet depicts a papal mass in the Sistine Chapel during the pontificate of Gregory XIII Boncompagni (1502–85). Generally such masses were celebrated once a week, and the participants depicted have been studied in depth by the historian of liturgy Niels Krogh Rasmussen³⁴.

According to the inscription, the engraving provides an “exact depiction of the papal majesty (*maiestas pontificia*) during the celebration of the divine mass in the Sistine Chapel”³⁵. The print is to be understood as part of the efforts of Gregory XIII to restructure the rites and ceremonies of the *capella papalis* and to return to the old tradition and, most importantly, to abolish the *abusi*, the abuses of the order of precedence by secular dignitaries³⁶. The print is symptomatic of papal propaganda on the one hand and on the other of the pan-European fascination – be it early anthropological or ‘tourist’ curiosity – with liturgical and ceremonial matters.

The inclusion of an enumerated legend makes it possible to identify the individual officials and participants. The beholder of the print has the additional privilege of being able to ‘participate’ in the theatrically choreographed celebration of the Eucharist from an elevated position, whereas the laity actually attending such services in the chapel, as if seated in a *cavea*, had to be content with the impaired view through the metal grille of the choir screen³⁷.

These visitors – exclusively male and drawn from the bourgeoisie and the lower clergy – are prevented from entering the sacred area of the choir by two rows of Swiss Guards (nr. 55), who receive instructions from the Master of Ceremonies (nr. 46)³⁸. Then – as indeed now – it was the responsibility of the Guards to silence the reverberating chatter of lay visitors while on the other side of the screen, the *mazzieri* (nr. 54), ensured those in the choir space maintained the necessary degree of silence, respect and contemplation³⁹.

33 Sullivan 1986: on the performative character of rituals. Bell 1997, 161: “the ritual-like nature of performative activities appears to lie in the multifaceted sensory experience, in the framing that creates a sense of condensed totality, and in the ability to shape people’s experience and cognitive ordering of the world. In brief, performances seem ritual-like because they explicitly model the world. They do not attempt to reflect the real world accurately but to reduce and simplify it so as to create more or less coherent systems of categories that can be projected onto the full spectrum of human experience.” Muir 1997, 5: “Many rituals work like models. They present a standard or a simplified miniature for society to follow.” Houseman 2001, 49: “Rituale erzählen weniger Geschichten, sondern stellen bestimmte *Wahrheiten* dar”; the linguistic model is not adequate for ritual rules.

34 Rasmussen 1983. Cf. Adalbert Roth in Kruse 1999, 496–7, nr. 186; Visceglia 1997, 130–3. De Grassi 1514–25, fol. 15v; Dykmans 1985, 400: about fifty high papal masses per year. Cf. Roth 1999, 163: about forty *capellae papales* per year.

35 *Maiestatis pontificiae dum in capella Xysti sacra peraguntur accurata delineatio*.

36 Visceglia 1997, 130: “per ridurre le cerimonie all’uso antico et levar gli abusi trascorsi nella venuta de principi, come de loro ambasciatori et di molt’altre cose”; 131: “sino da principio del suo pontificato [he had] volto l’animo a riordinare i riti e le cerimonie della cappella pontificia la quale n’havea molto bisogno”; 132: on the congregation of rites. Bölling 2003, 60–1: 22 January 1588, founding of the *Sacra congregatio caeremonialis*.

37 Cf. Bell 1997, 160: “By virtue of [...] framing, performance is understood to be something other than routine reality; it is a specific type of demonstration.”

38 Rasmussen 1983, 142: visitors comprise lower clergy, servants of the cardinals, laymen, but no women; in 1573, the master of ceremonies Francesco Mucanzio excludes, with the help of the Swiss Guard, unauthorised laymen from the choir and the *loco retro sedilio cardinalium*.

39 De Grassi 1514–25, fol. 146r–7v: *De universali silentio, ac veneratione et contemplatione omnium mysteriorum in capella papali*. Cf. Dykmans 1986, 293–4; Minnich 1993, 394: on silence in the chapel. Dykmans 1982, 442; Quednau 1984, 87: on the *mazzieri*.

The *Book of Ceremonies* devotes an entire chapter to the complex rules of admittance to and exclusion from the papal chapel⁴⁰. Excluded from the *corpus* of the chapel were physical or mental outcasts, criminals, syphilitics, jugglers and mimics who would, presumably, have threatened the sacred fiction, pets such as lapdogs and parrots, as well as transvestites and women in men's clothing, i.e. prostitutes, and, not least, women, with the exception of the Empress on the occasion of her coronation provided she was not menstruating⁴¹. The place of each member of the Curia assembled on the other side of the marble *cancellata* was determined by his duties and privileges, all of which were minutely described in the *Book of Ceremonies*⁴².

SCREENING POWER

According to Durkheim, the secular and sacred are clearly and unmistakably separated by classifying signs⁴³. However, being interdependent, this separation involves controlled communication between the two, and this in turn makes the elevation of the sacred above the secular and by the secular possible⁴⁴. An example of such a classifying division is the rood screen of the Sistine Chapel: by controlling communication between the sacred and secular, the screen articulates the social differences and inter-dependence of the two areas⁴⁵.

The ceremonial master and humanist Paris de Grassi traced the origins and meaning of the rituals back to ancient times, when the *cancelli* separated the senate from the common people⁴⁶. By preventing the laity from entering the choir and allowing only a partial view of the forbidden space, the Sistine choir screen conveys the privileged status of the clergy⁴⁷.

Such a socially distinguishing visual exchange was possible because the upper part of the rood screen has metal grilles. The view into the Holy of Holies and of the incarnation of Christ is the Christian innovation that replaced the impenetrable curtain of the Tabernacle of Moses and of the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, from which Sicardus derived the origin of choir screens, and which according to St Matthew's Gospel was torn in two forever by Christ's sacrifice on the cross⁴⁸. The openings in the choir screen also permitted the laity to hear the word of God being spoken and to visually partake in

40 De Grassi 1514–25, fol. 51r–3r: *De his qui admitti consueverunt intra capellam papalem, et de excludendis ab eadem*; on admission into and exclusion from the Sistine Chapel. Cf. Dykmans 1986, 292.

41 De Grassi 1514–25, fol. 52r–v: *cavendum quoque permaximè ne animalium, et mansuetorum et nobilium genus aliquod intromittatur, ut sunt catellae, et damulae, et qua pro delitijs habentur, nec minus avium, ut sunt accipitres, psittacive*, which distract the spirit from contemplation; at the imperial coronation of Nicolas V in 1542, *ad id coronationis munus in crastinum peragendum es superventu repentino menstrui dilatus est catus in diem ab inde sextum, et dicta ipsa Leonora demum coronata fuit; sed nec vir muliebri modo ornatus, neque e contra mulier virili habitu transformata, | ut plerique meretrices solent, vel quia impudentes*; fol. 23r–v: on the *corpus* of the chapel. Randolph 1997, 18: "Orthodoxy denied menstruating women entry to the church."

42 Piccolomini 1965, fol. 122v–4v: *De ordine sedendi in capella papae*. Cf. Dykmans 1986, 296–7. De Grassi 1514–25, fol. 53v–65r: on the seating order in the *capella papalis*. Cf. Dykmans 1977–85, 3:311–2: on the seating order in Avignon.

43 Durkheim 1968, 55: "L'opposition de ces deux genres vient, d'ailleurs, se traduire au dehors par un signe visible qui permet de reconnaître aisément cette classification très spéciale, partout où elle existe. Parce que la notion du sacré est, dans la pensée des hommes, toujours et partout séparée de la notion du profane, parce que nous concevons entre elles une sorte de vide logique, l'esprit épure invinciblement à ce que les choses correspondantes soient confondues ou simplement mises en contact".

44 Durkheim 1968, 55: "La chose sacrée, c'est, par excellence, celle que le profane ne doit pas, ne peut pas impunément toucher. Sans doute, cette interdiction ne saurait aller jusqu'à rendre impossible toute communication entre les deux mondes; car, si le profane ne pouvait aucunement entrer en relations avec le sacré, celui-ci ne servirait à rien."

45 Thomas et al. 1996, 290: "Barrier for the subdivision of a church into areas of differing function and liturgical significance." Cf. Jung 2001: on social differentiation by the means of rood screens.

46 De Grassi 1514–25, fol. 14v–5r: *Cancelli, repagula, aut crates intermedij | sunt, qui senatum à populo distinguunt*. Cf. Moroni 1840–79, 8:221. Cf. Randolph 1997, 30: on the rood screen as a social boundary. Constant 1903, 329: de Grassi refers back to the antique rites of the Roman *pontifex maximus*.

47 Burkert 1972, 39: "Ritus, als Mitteilung, ist eine Art Sprache"; its complexity activates social differences. Möseneder 1983, 74: in the baroque festivities, the beholder becomes an element of the body political.

48 *St Matthew's Gospel* 27.50–1. Cf. *Epistle to the Hebrews* 6.19, 10.19. Cf. Shearman 1972, 71. Thomas et al. 1996, 290: "The division of churches into several zones by screens (as well as steps and different paving) is associated with the increasing tendency in the Middle Ages to understand churches in terms of the Temple of Jerusalem, with its separate

the celebration of mass. Although the Catholic Church recommended the removal of rood screens in the later Cinquecento, the screen in the Sistine Chapel remained in place; clearly, it was permeable enough, and perhaps without the screen the security of the pope could not be ensured in a chapel that consisted of only a single nave.

TYPOLOGICAL TOPOGRAPHY

Although it is here impossible to deal with the complex decoration of the Sistine Chapel, to which extensive study has been devoted, one example deserves mention, especially as it demonstrates the relevance of such embellishments for the ritual of the liturgy: the ten magnificent tapestries after designs by Raphael (Taf. 39). Traditionally known as *The Acts of the Apostles*, nine of the ten were used solely for the adornment of the choir space, thus providing yet another indication of the privileged status of the clergy. The choice of *ten* pieces is moreover an iconographical reference to the Tabernacle of Moses, which God ordained be made of ten curtains⁴⁹. Such an obvious visual association between the Tabernacle – as the prefiguration of the Temple of Salomon and accordingly of every Christian Church – and the Sistine Chapel provided, at the dawn of Reformation, some theological and rhetorical justification for the horrendous cost of the tapestries⁵⁰.

But the tapestries' iconography also relates to the liturgical function of the space: John Shearman (1931–2003) has shown how the content and composition of *St Paul Preaching at Athens* (Abb. 3), the only tapestry to hang in the area reserved for the laity, reflects the functional context of the ritual and space⁵¹. Following the example of the Greek philosophers assembled on the Areopagus to hear the apostle's sermon, the humanistically educated laity should attend the words spoken from the chancel in the Sistine Chapel and embrace Christianity with the fervour of the Neo-Platonist Dionysius the Areopagite, seen in the lower left of the tapestry ascending *ex abyss* to become Paul's disciple. The Renaissance credited him with the authorship of two highly valued and complementary texts: *The Heavenly Hierarchy* and *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*. The latter is identified as a material counter-image, analogy or symbol of the harmonious and heavenly order⁵². As a counter-image of divine beauty, the heavenly and ecclesiastical hierarchies strive to become closer to God himself. The figure of Dionysius in the tapestry is therefore an explicit reference to the assembly in the choir of the *capella papalis* as the earthly mirror of the harmonious heavenly order. As in the external ceremonies, which Dionysius called "the beautiful wall paintings in the entrance to the shrine", the tapestry in the lay space serves to convey a sensuous experience of the divine⁵³.

ORGANISING THE BODY RELIGIOUS

Although the architecture and decoration of the Sistine Chapel create a social division between the clerics and the laity, a few of the more privileged lay visitors did nevertheless gain admittance to the choir, as can be seen in Dupérac's engraving (Taf. 38) where some nobles and church ambassadors take their

courts and areas and their ascending holiness. The sanctuary thus became the equivalent of the Holy of Holies. The separation and ritual protection of these zones were affected by the various screens (as well as by *ciboria* and hangings)." Hall 1978, 1974: on rood screens in Italy.

49 Exodus 26.1.

50 This aspect will be studied in depth elsewhere.

51 Shearman 1972, 73; Stinger 1998, 314: on the harmony between antique philosophy and Christian theology.

52 Areopagita 1911, 3–4: "Deshalb hat auch die heilige Satzung [...] unsere heiligste | (kirchliche) Hierarchie in der Form gewährt, dass sie dieselbe einer überweltlichen Nachahmung der himmlischen Hierarchie würdigte und diese eben erwähnten immateriellen Hierarchien in materiellen Gestalten und zusammengesetzten Gebilden auf mannigfach verschiedene Weise darstellte. [...] die Rangstufen der irdischen (kirchlichen) Ordnungen als einen Abglanz des harmonischen und wohlgeordneten Verhältnisses zum Göttlichen"; cf. 19–20; 93–5: on the analogy between the ecclesiastical and heavenly hierarchy.

53 Areopagita 1911, 122–3: "Dieses Äussere (der Zeremonien) also [...], die schönen Wandbilder in der Vorhalle des Heiligtums, wollen wir den noch Unvollendeten zu einer | für sie ausreichenden Betrachtung überlassen."

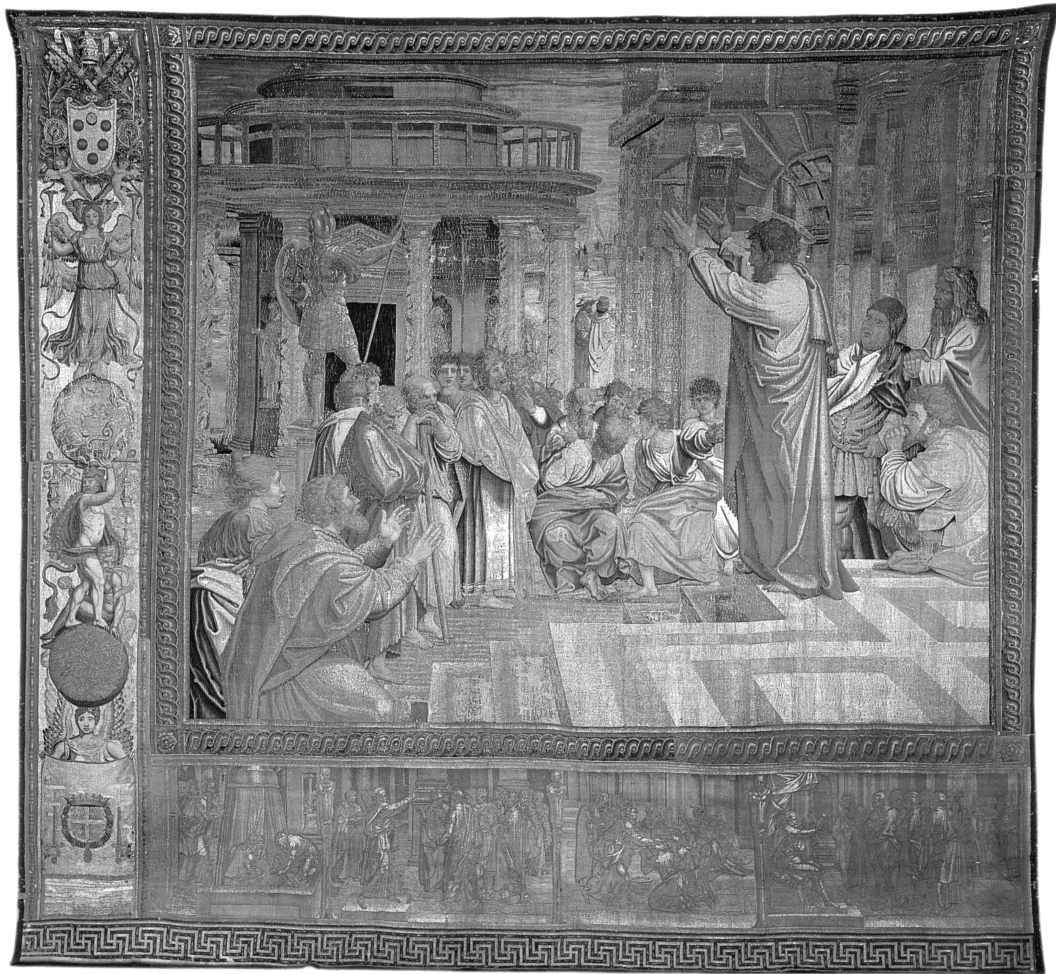


Abb. 3. Workshop of Pieter van Aelst after Raffaello Santi, *Paul Preaching at Athens*, ca. 1518, tapestry, 490 x 520 cm, Vatican City, Vatican Museums. After: Fermor 1996, 39 fig. 15.

places within the *quadratura* and opposite the pope⁵⁴. The Senator (nr. 30), the Conservators (nr. 31) and the Roman aristocracy (nr. 32) are seated, in descending order, on the steps of the pontifical *solium* and of the *presbyterium*, thereby expressing their special relationship with the pope and, simultaneously, their obsequiousness. The pope for his part could honour nobles and relatives by assigning them a more important location⁵⁵.

The choreography of space during the liturgy is based on the physical coordinates of the protagonists: *above* and *below*, *left* and *right*⁵⁶. At the very beginning of his *Caeremoniarum opusculum*, de Grassi takes the measurements of the chapel, as if it were a stage, so as to ensure that the seating order follows the rules of *symmetria*⁵⁷. Resistance to the rules governing seating and dress was seen by the Master of Ceremonies, and indeed by the cardinals and participants themselves, as a conscious disregard for

54 Rasmussen 1983, 141, nr. 10: “Duces”.

55 Rasmussen 1983, 140–1, nr. 30 and 31: “senator romanus” and “conservatores Urbis”. Bölling 2004, 183: on the higher status of the right side of the papal throne.

56 Cf. Schütte 1995, 422: “Liturgie und Zeremoniell zeigen eine Segmentierung der rituellen, zeitlich definierten Handlung nach Stellung der Beteiligten an bestimmten Orten. Der Ablauf ist räumlich horizontal und vertikal strukturiert”; “die unmittelbare rituelle Praxis nimmt dabei räumlich-körperliche Muster auf.” Suntrup 1978, 198–224: on top, bottom, right, and left in the mass. Elze 1991; Paravicini 1997a, 24–5: on left and right.

57 De Grassi 1514–25, fol. 23r–v: *De simetria totius capellae papalis*; especially in the seating order; on the measuring of the Sistine Chapel. Cf. Dykmans 1986, 289: de Grassi organises mass of the *capella papalis* in Bologna and Ravenna.

decorum and social order and something which could disrupt the ceremony⁵⁸. The liturgical social order in the choir is structured not only accordingly to horizontal and vertical symmetry, but has in addition two centres: foremost the altar (nr. 1), with the papal throne (nr. 2) as the second, subordinate centre⁵⁹. *Vertically*, steps elevate the choir above the lay space as well as the presbytery from the *quadratura* and the altar from the throne⁶⁰. *Horizontally*, the privileged proximity to the pope is expressed in the concentric rows of seats and in the floor patterns of the *quadratura*, which however are not illustrated in the print. Just like a playing field, the Cosmatesque design of the pavement aids each player in finding his particular starting position and indicates the rules of the game.

The clerics sit on benches, their exact position determined according to a system based on official rank and social status, whereby the most privileged sit to the right of the pope. De Grassi described this system of reverence as a type of cosmology of respect towards God and the different social classes of men, from *latria* to *incurvatio*⁶¹. The hierarchy should appear harmonious not only through the seating and clothing of the various groups, but also through the singing of the papal choirs, just like Dionysius in his *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* interpreted the chanting of the psalms as a means of achieving universal unity⁶².

The social structure of the Curia is reflected in the character of the liturgy. That the physical disposition of those in the choir was intended to give an accurate image of the curial hierarchy is evident from the fact that the pope could bestow additional honour on a person or an official body by making changes in the seating arrangements or by granting permission to enter the choir area⁶³. The anthropologist David I. Kertzer has shown how small changes and adjustments to rites, which by their very nature are conservative, possess a strong political message⁶⁴.

CHOREOGRAPHIES OF POWER

Rites transmit traditional images of the world, but can also serve to establish new traditions⁶⁵. Hierarchy only becomes reality when anchored by the rituals of the ceremonial. Liturgy can be compared with the practiced etiquette that Norbert Elias described as a self-presentation of courtly society in as far as part of the ceremonial rite is the public examination and confirmation of the dignity and prestige of each and every member of court society⁶⁶.

58 See e.g. O'Reilly 1972, 85–6: 25 November 1512, cardinal Matthäus Lang refuses to don the cardinal's gown which is understood as an act of arrogance.

59 Dykmans 1986, 293: according to de Grassi, the altar should be standing higher than the papal throne; therefore, Leo X eliminated three steps from the throne.

60 Staubach 2004a: on the levelling under Leo X. See supra n. 59.

61 De Grassi 1514–25, fol. 144r–6r: *Quid sit latria, quid dulia, quid cultus, quid reverentia, quid obedientia, quid genuflexio humiliatio, et inclinatio, ac incurvatio, et à quibus huiusmodi fiunt, ac qualiter, et ante quos fieri respective debeant*. Dykmans 1986, 292: "Toutes les nuances du respect dû à Dieu et à ses créatures seront parcourues." Dykmans 1982, 458: "Les règles d'étiquette sont de plus en plus fines."

62 Sherr 1982: on music in the *capella papalis*. Cf. infra n. 68. Areopagita 1911, 127: "durch den Einklang der göttlichen Lieder die Eintracht der Herzen mit dem Göttlichen, mit uns selbst und mit unsern Nebenmenschen gleichwie in *einem* übereinstimmenden Reigenchor geregelt." Sherr 1994: on polyphony in the papal chapel as a tribute to the Church and the pope.

63 Rasmussen 1983, 136: Gregory XIII grants a new and higher position to a French archbishop within the seating order of the Sistine Chapel; 137: in 1568, the Dominican Pius V grants the Dominicans precedence over other Orders; 138: in 1574, Gregory XIII grants the *abbreviatores de parco maiori* a place within the choir of the Sistine Chapel.

64 Kertzer 1988, 12: "It is because people create and alter rituals that they are such powerful tools of political action"; cf. 12 and 42: "Paradoxically, it is the very conservatism of ritual forms that can make ritual a potent force in political change."

65 Moore and Myerhoff 1977, 7–8.

66 Elias 1983, 101: "The practice of etiquette is, in other words, an exhibition of court society itself. Each participant, above all the king, has his prestige and his relative power position confirmed by others. Social opinion, which constitutes the prestige of the individual, is expressed by reciprocal behaviour within a communal action according to certain rules. And in this communal action each individual's existential bond to society is directly visible. Without confirmation of one's prestige through behaviour, this prestige is nothing. The immense value attached to the demonstration of prestige and



Abb. 4. *The Fifth Lateran Council*, woodcut, from: Antonio del Monte, ed. 1521. *Sanctum lateranensum concilium*. Rome: Giacomo Mazzocchi. After: Kruse 1999, 116 fig. 94.

The corporate body of the pontifical court celebrates its structure in the Sistine Chapel and by doing so presents itself as the concentrically arranged Curia before the eyes of the clergy and the laity, in much the same way as the citizens of Rome perceived themselves in the ancient circus. Rites present and actualise existing social structures⁶⁷. Dupérac's engraving (Taf. 38) depicts the social hierarchy of the Curia and the church much like a pyramid, as shown, for example, in a depiction of the Lateran Council of 1521 (Abb. 4) where the pope, crowned by the Holy Ghost, thrones above the hierarchy. The bird's-eye view of Dupérac's print bears no relation of course to the actual perspective of the participants; the image was intended to convey a propagandistic ideal that enthrones the pope in the vanishing point, and which locates the imagined viewpoint at the base of the (social) pyramid. The rationalised distance of the quasi-photographic view of a systematically arranged scene points to an attempt to give a 'scientific' explanation of liturgy and ceremonial. But, although the imagined viewer is placed at the end of the social hierarchy, he is granted a superior viewpoint. Much like Marcello's controversial publication of the *Book of Ceremonies*, Dupérac's ambivalent codification may thus be seen as a secularisation or even profanation of sacred rites that were intended to be experienced in their full majesty.

the observance of etiquette does not betray an attachment to externals, but to what was vitally important to individual identity." Cf. Möseneder 1983, 66: on ceremonial as an image of the absolutist order of the state and of the relationships of power and law. Gaston 1987, 114: on the social history of mass liturgy as a *desideratum* in research.

67 See supra n. 31: on actualisation. Muir 1997, 7: rites make conditions present and actual. Cf. Houseman 2001, 51: "Mithilfe von vorgeschriebenen Verhaltensmustern, die gleichzeitig höchst evokative (vielschichtige) und grundsätzlich vieldeutige Beziehungen abbilden (was die Kondensierung von Gegensätzen zur Folge hat), gewährleisten rituelle Handlungen den Teilnehmern unmittelbare Erfahrungen von neuen, höchst integrativen, ausserordentlichen Wirklichkeiten, unterstützt von Selbstbezogenheit und unter Einführung von bestimmten Handelnden sowie spezifischen Redewendungen (Symbolik); dadurch vermitteln sie unerschütterliche Zusammenhänge für die konventionelle Neubewertung der aufeinander abgestimmten Beziehungen, aus denen die soziale Welt der Teilnehmenden besteht. Amen."

The sacredness, invariance and venerability of liturgy and the decoration of the chapel became aureate attributes of the papacy as a social form. When the sublimation of power advances from its original physical violence to a more effective symbolic *pars pro toto* – were it a prohibitive sign or the Eucharist – a decisive role is played by the aesthetic and artistic, be it clothing, choreography, wall painting etc. Power thus also becomes an aesthetical construct that is created and transmitted. Despite the aesthetic sublimation of pure violence, rites remain structured by bodily coordinates. Rituals require no architecture, for every ritual meeting, for example a papal procession, creates its own physical, hierarchical and spatial structure by the means of the mere choreography of bodies. However, in the context of the papal liturgy, texts, above all the codified standardisation of the transmitted rites and practices in the *Book of Ceremonies*, also play a role in defining the spatial stage, and accordingly the macro-structure of the architecture.

As the inscription in Dupérac's *Papal Mass* suggests, the *maiestas pontificia*, namely the size, dignity and majesty of the papacy, depends to a large extent on the ordered and splendid depiction of the court as a hierarchically structured and musically harmonised *capella papalis*⁶⁸. The papal mass as a multimedia event or ritual *Gesamtkunstwerk* was the focal point of the Roman *theatrum mundi*⁶⁹.

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68 Da Castiglionchio 1999, 131. O'Malley 1979, 10–1: in the papal chapel, *auctoritas, dignitas, honor* are important; the earthly liturgy and hierarchy corresponds to the heavenly; strict topographical hierarchy. Cf. Muir 1997, 230: "Political ritual or ritualized politics tends to camouflage tensions, especially by representing more political *harmony* than may actually exist". Cf. Quednau 1984, 94: singers' choir in the Stanza dell'Incendio as a symbol of political harmony.

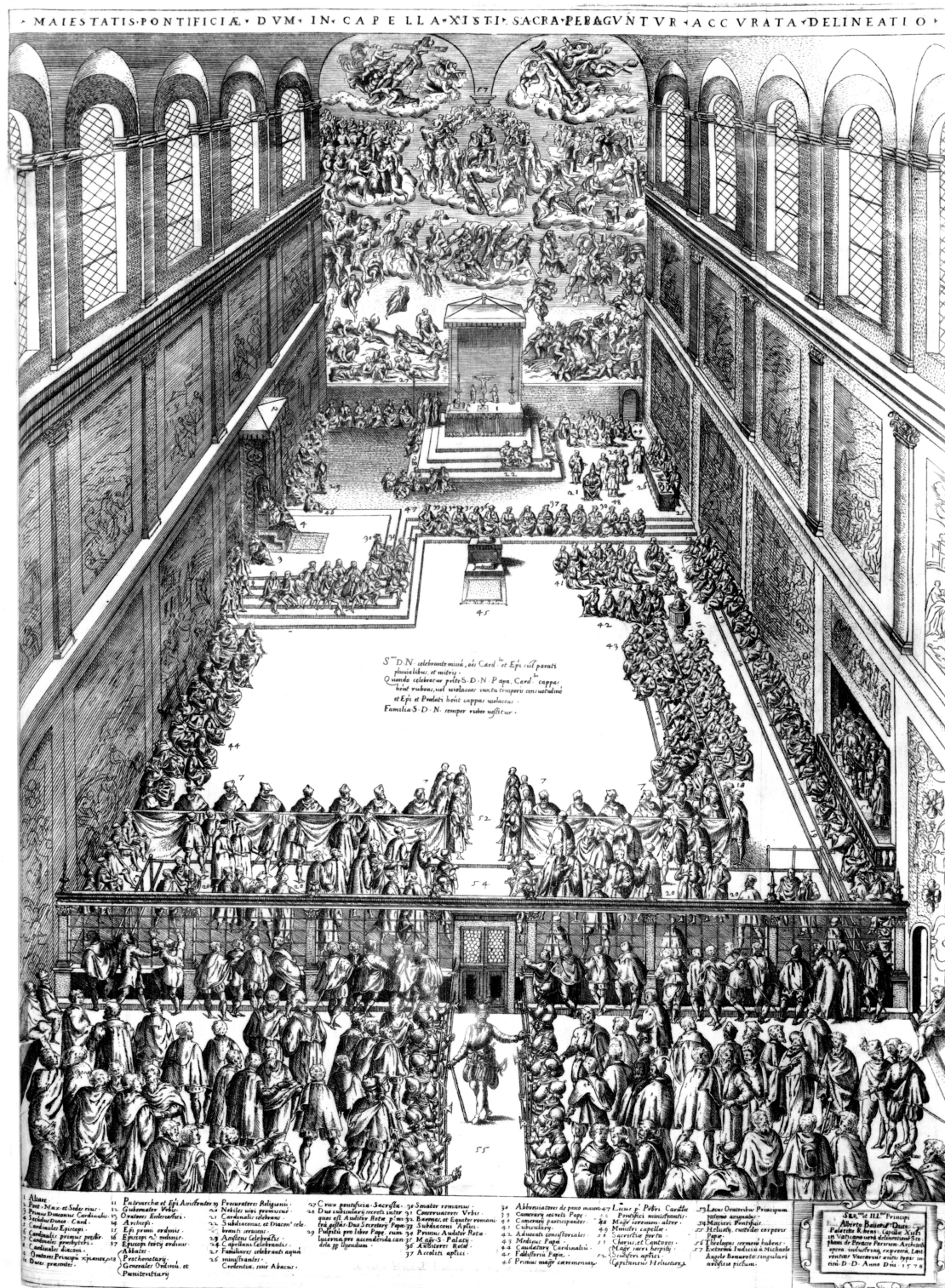
69 Da Castiglionchio 1999, 161: "But this is the greatest and most esteemed of theaters [*theatrum*], and many peoples have come here to watch. Nothing admirable can be done here that does not draw everyone's notice and is not illuminated by everyone's praises." Da Castiglionchio 1999, 173: "Well then, anyone who is especially moved by the visual must feel a marvelous pleasure, owing to these things, which are so many, so great, so varied, and so diverse." Cf. Seidler 1995, 14–5: *corte di Roma/pontificia* not equal to *sede apostolica*.

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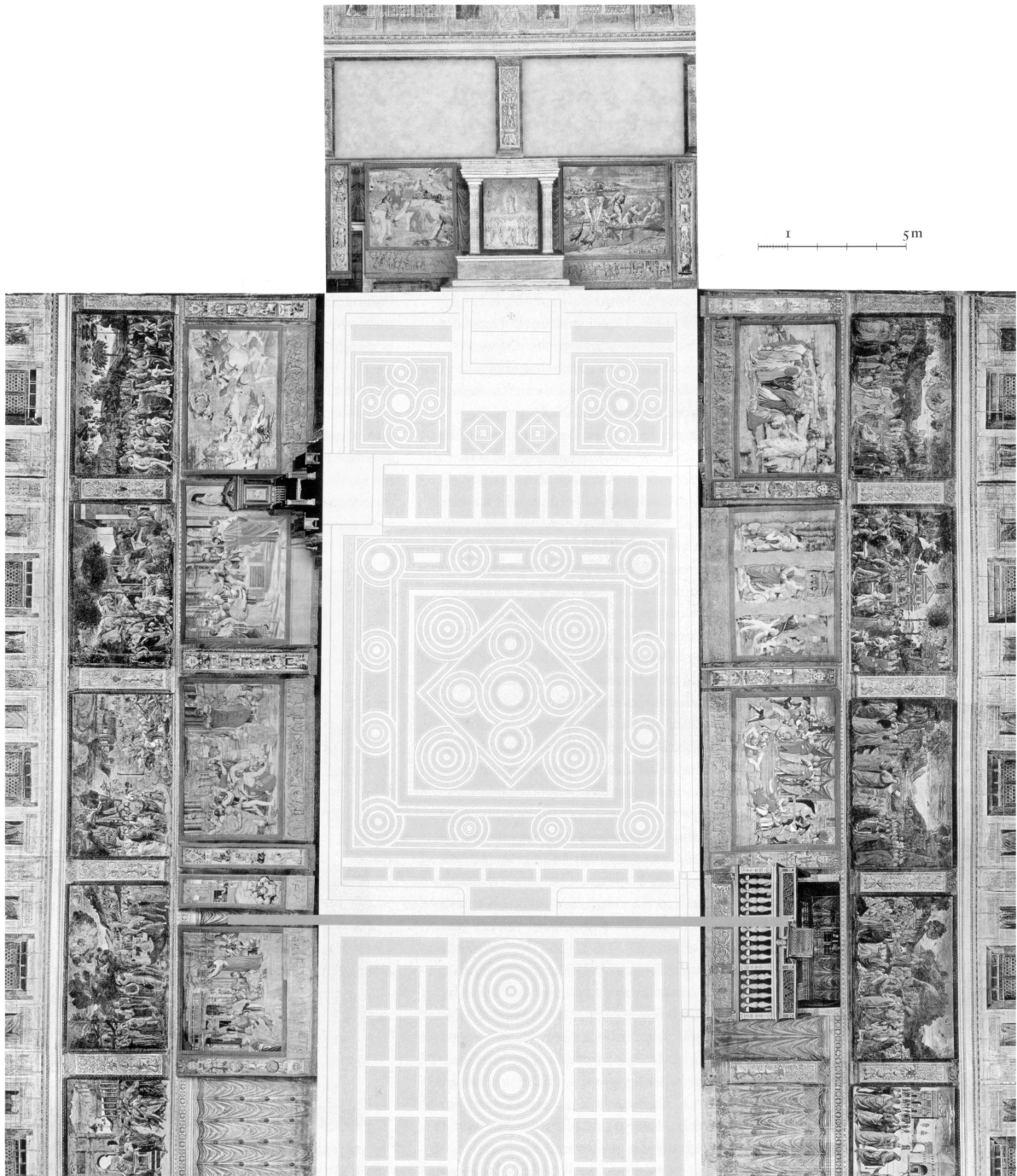
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Étienne Dupérac, *The Exact Depiction of the Papal Majesty During the Celebration of the Divine Mass in the Sistine Chapel*, 1578, etching, 51 x 36 cm. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.



Reconstruction of the hanging of the *Acts of the Apostles* in the Sistine Chapel, ca. 1521 (Weddigen/Trogisch).
After: Weddigen 1999, 270 fig. 2.